

754 5

FACTS AND DOCUMENTS

FOR THE PEOPLE.

There are certain documents relating to the great issue now pending before the people of the United States which are in constant demand, and which ought to be in the hands of every voter of Ohio. To supply this demand, the Republican State Central Committee have directed a pamphlet to be prepared which shall embrace the leading items of interest, and which are so much wanted for every-day reference.

When James Buchanan was called upon by the committee, appointed by the Cincinnati Convention, to notify him that he had been selected as the leader of the Slave Democracy in this campaign, he declared to them that "*the slavery issue was the absorbing element in the canvass.*" This is true. The great question now on trial before the tribunal of our people, and upon which they are to render their verdict in November is, "*Shall slavery be extended into territory now free?*" Heretofore, from the beginning of our Government, slavery has been a sectional institution. Slavery has been the exception, while freedom has been the rule. Its national character has been indorsed by all the great and patriotic Fathers of our Republic. But now, all this is to be changed. Slavery is to be national, while Freedom is to be sectional. To advocate slavery extension is now called *national*, while to talk of freedom and free territory, as Washington and Jefferson did, has become *sectional*! James Buchanan, by his own admission, stands before the country the champion of slavery extension. The Richmond *Enquirer*, the great Southern organ of the Buchanan party, boldly declares that they "*seek not merely to retain slavery where it is, but to extend it into regions where it is unknown.*"

Such is the issue. It is tendered us. It is thrust upon us, and we cannot escape it if we would.

DANIEL WEBSTER said: "I have made up my mind for one, that under no circumstances will I consent to the farther extension of the area of slavery in the U. States, or the further increase of slave representation in the House of Representatives."

HENRY CLAY said: "I repeat that I never can, and never will vote, and no earthly power will ever make me vote to spread slavery over territory where it does not exist."

JOHN C. FREMONT says: "I am opposed to slavery in the abstract, and upon principles sustained and made habitual by settled conviction. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of state sovereignty, I am inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits."

With these preliminary remarks, we proceed to give such documents and facts as are pertinent to the issue thus tendered to the millions of American freemen by the 847,000 slaveholders of the South.

POSITION OF BOTH PARTIES ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN OHIO.

On the 20th of January, 1848, the Whig State Convention of Ohio adopted the following resolution :

"Resolved, That we deprecate a war of conquest, and strenuously oppose the acquisition of Mexican territory ; but if additional territory be forced upon us, or acquired by the nation, we will demand that there shall neither be slavery, or involuntary servitude therein, otherwise than for the punishment of crime."

On the 6th of May, 1850, the Whig State Convention adopted the following resolution :

"Resolved, That in all territorial governments hereafter organized by Congress, we here reiterate the principle declared by the Whig State Convention of 1848, that 'there shall be neither slavery, or involuntary servitude therein, otherwise than for the punishment of crime.'"

Such, to the last, continued to be the utterance of the Whig party of Ohio. Now, let us look at the record of the Democratic party on this subject.

On the 8th of January, 1848, the Convention of that party adopted the following resolutions :

"Resolved, That the people of Ohio now, as they have always done, look upon the institution of slavery in any part of the Union as an evil, and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit, and practical benefits of free institutions ; and that, entertaining these sentiments, they will at all times feel it to be their duty to use all power clearly given by the terms of the national compact, to prevent the increase—to mitigate, and finally to eradicate the evil."

"But, be it further resolved, That the Democracy of Ohio do at the same time fully recognize the doctrine held by the early Fathers of the Republic, and still maintained by the Democratic party in all the States, that, to each State belongs the right to adopt and modify its own municipal laws—to regulate its own internal affairs—to hold and maintain an equal and independent sovereignty with each and every other State, and that upon these rights the National Legislature can neither legislate or encroach."

The State Conventions of the same party, for the years 1850, 1852, 1853 and 1854, distinctly and by special reference, *"re-affirm"* the above resolutions of 1848.

Thus stood the record of the two great political parties of Ohio, up to the eventful spring of 1854, when the stupendous and wicked fraud of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was perpetrated in Congress, under the leadership of Atchison and Douglas. At the National Convention of 1852, which nominated Franklin Pierce, the following resolution was adopted :

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

In less than two years after the passage of this resolution, this same party, trampling under foot this pledge to the nation, with a recklessness and folly unparalleled in the history of our country, proceeded to open up the entire range of slavery discussion and debate, by the repeal of a compact that had remained on the statute books untouched for thirty-four years, and which had been regarded as sacred and inviolable by all the great and good men of the nation. In Ohio this perfidy to freedom, and the guaranties of the past, was met by the great masses of both parties with every mark of disapprobation. All other issues were lost in the magnitude of this new and startling one of slavery extension into territory heretofore declared forever free. Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, &c., all met on the common ground of opposition to this monstrous aggression. The Republican party of Ohio had its birth on that occa-

sion. It reiterated the solemn resolves of other days of all parties, and determined to stand by them and maintain them to the last.

A remnant of the old Democratic party, lost to all sense of honor and integrity, and bent alone upon the spoils of office, to be gaited by base subserviency to the slave-driving power which had seized upon the leadership of that once powerful organization, was found even in the State of Ohio, so cringing and corrupt as to repudiate all former pledges and promises, and to take its position *in favor* of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and to uphold and even applaud the iniquities of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The history of party debasement never presented a more humiliating spectacle. Allied with the nullifiers and disunionists of the South, they uphold the infamies which have disgraced the nation by the acts of the slave power in Kansas. They have sold their integrity and manhood for the hope of a corrupt reward. They stand this day openly upon the platform of the slave extensionists, and repudiate all the precepts and doctrines they once professed. The sober second thought of intelligent freemen will not fail to sound the death-knell of all their hopes.

THE THREE PLATFORMS.

WHERE THE PARTIES STAND AND WHAT THEY BELIEVE IN.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN (OR FILLMORE) PLATFORM.

Adopted at Philadelphia, February 22, 1856.

1st. An humble acknowledgement to the Supreme Being who rules the universe, for his protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful Revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence, and the Union of these States.

2d. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American Independence.

3d. *Americans must rule America*, and to this end, *native* born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal and municipal offices or Government employment, in preference to naturalized citizens: *nevertheless*,

4th. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

5th. No person should be selected for political station, (whether of native or foreign birth,) who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State Constitutions (each within its sphere) as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6th. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with questions appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7th. The recognition of the right of the native born and naturalized citizens of the United States, permanently residing in any Territory thereof, to frame their Consti-

tution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the right of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress. *Provided always*, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the Constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such Territory, ought to participate in the formation of the Constitution, or in the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8th. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory can admit others than native born citizens to the right of suffrage, or of holding political office, unless such persons shall have been naturalized according to the laws of the United States.

9th. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime, from landing on our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10th. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship, and no test oaths for office, except those indicated in the 5th section of this platform.

11th. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12th. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13th. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present Administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans!" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultraists in their places; as shown in a truckling subserviency to the stronger, and an insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting unnaturalized foreigners the right to suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the removal of Judge Bronson from the Collectorship of New York upon false and untenable grounds; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the Government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; as shown in the blundering mismanagement of our foreign relations.

14th. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American party" upon the principles hereinbefore stated, eschewing all sectional questions, and uniting upon those purely national, and admitting into said party all American citizens, (referred to in the 3d, 4th and 5th sections,) who openly avow the principles and opinions heretofore expressed, and who will subscribe their names to this platform. *Provided*, nevertheless, that a majority of those members present at any meeting of a local Council where an applicant applies for membership in the American party may, for any reason by them deemed sufficient, deny admission to such applicant.

15th. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

PLATFORM OF THE SLAVE DEMOCRACY.

Adopted at Cincinnati, June 4th, 1856.

Resolved, That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism and the discriminating justice of the American people.

Resolved, That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which

we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in the form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and we contrast it with the creed and practice of Federalism under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

Resolved, therefore, That, entertaining these views, the Democratic party of this Union, through their Delegates assembled in a general Convention, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow-citizens for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert before the American people, the declarations of principles avowed by them when, on former occasions, in general Convention, they have presented their candidates for the popular suffrages.

1. That the Federal Government is one of limited power, derived solely from the Constitution; and the grants of power made therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the Government; and that it is expedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government, directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several States, contracted for local and internal improvements, or other State purposes.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and of every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of the Government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the Government, and for the gradual, but certain extinction of the public debt.

6. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution.

7. That Congress has no power to charter a national bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people; and that the results of Democratic legislation in this and all other financial measures upon which issues have been made between the two political parties of the country, have demonstrated to candid and practical men of all parties, the soundness, safety and utility, in all business pursuits.

8. That the separation of the moneys of the Government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds of the Government, and the rights of the people.

9. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient, to guard the public interests, and to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

10. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty,

and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our Statute Books.

And WHEREAS, Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, and adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called.

Resolved, That the foundation of this union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion, and pre-eminent example in free government built upon entire freedom in matters of religious concernment, and no respect of person in regard to rank or place of birth; no party can justly be deemed national, constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization upon religious opinions and accidental birth place. And hence a political crusade in the nineteenth century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or the future prospects of the country, nor in unison with the spirit of toleration and enlarged freedom which peculiarly distinguishes the American system of popular government.

Resolved, That we reiterate with renewed energy of purpose, the well considered declarations of former Conventions upon the sectional issue of Domestic Slavery, and concerning the reserved rights of the States,—

1. That Congress has no power under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

2. That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures, settled by the Congress of 1850; "the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor," included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

3. That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made.

4. That the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature, in 1799; that it adopts those principles, constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

And that we may more distinctly meet the issue on which a sectional party, subsisting exclusively on slavery agitation, now relies to test the fidelity of the people, North and South, to the Constitution and the Union—

1. *Resolved*, That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue—and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms, concerning domestic slavery, which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purposes, if consummated, must end in civil war

and disunion—the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and safe solution of the “slavery question” upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservatism of the Union—**NON-INTERFERENCE BY CONGRESS WITH SLAVERY IN STATE AND TERRITORY, OR IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.**

2. That this was the basis of the Compromises of 1850—confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in National Conventions—ratified by the people in the election of 1852—and rightly applied to the organization of Territories in 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of this Democratic principle to the organization of Territories, and to the admission of new States, with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect—the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact—the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate—and the perpetuity and expansion of this Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing, in peace and harmony, every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a Republican form of Government.

Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Resolved, finally, That in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World (and the dangerous tendencies of sectional agitation, combined with the attempt to enforce civil and religious disabilities against the rights of acquiring and enjoying citizenship, in our own land)—a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility upon the Democratic party of this country, as the party of the UNION, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the Union of the States; and to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence of those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

1. *Resolved*, That there are questions connected with the foreign policy of this country, which are inferior to no domestic question whatever. The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of free seas and progressive free trade throughout the world, and, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

2. *Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this continent, no less than the interests of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

3. *Resolved*, That the great highway which nature, as well as the assent of States most immediately interested in its maintainance, has marked out for a free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, and the unconquerable energy of our people. That result should be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have a right to claim over it, and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with the relations it may suit our policy to establish between our Government and the Governments of the States within whose dominions it lies. We can, under no circumstances, surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

4. *Resolved*, That, in view of so commanding an interest, the people of the United States can not but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the

people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the Inter-oceanic Isthmus.

Resolved, That the Democratic party will expect of the next Administration that every proper effort be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain a permanent protection to the great outlet through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of the Western valleys, and of the Union at large.

Resolved, That the administration of Franklin Pierce has been true to Democratic principles; and therefore true to the great interests of the country. In the face of the most determined opposition, it has maintained the laws, enforced economy, fostered progress, and infused integrity and vigor into every department of the Government at home. It has signally improved on treaty relations, extended the field of commercial enterprise, and vindicated the rights of American citizens abroad. It has asserted with eminent impartiality the first claims of every section, and has at all times been faithful to the Constitution. We therefore proclaim our unqualified approbation of its measures and its policy.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

Adopted at Philadelphia, June 18, 1856.

Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union of the States, shall be preserved.

Resolved, That with our Republican fathers we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure those rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction. That as our republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national Territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it, for the purpose of establishing Slavery in any Territory of the United States by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to Slavery in any Territory of the United States, while the present Constitution shall be maintained.

Resolved, That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, Polygamy and Slavery.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States was ordained and established by the people in order to "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty," and contains ample provisions for the protection of the life, liberty and property of every citizen, the dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their Territory has been invaded by an armed force, spurious and pretended legislative, judicial and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the rights of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test oaths of an extraordinary and enangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an

accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable search and seizure, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty and property, without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged, the right to choose their own representatives has been made of no effect, murders, robberies and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished.

That all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction and procurement of the present administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution and the Union and Humanity, we arraign that Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories either before or after the facts, before the country and before the world, and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment.

Resolved, That Kansas should be immediately admitted as a State of the Union, with her present free constitution, as at once the most effectual way of securing to her citizens the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled, and of ending the civil strife now raging in that Territory.

Resolved, That the highwayman plea that might makes right, embodied in the Ostend Circular, was in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy, and would bring shame and dishonor upon any Government, or people that should give it sanction.

Resolved, That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route, is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid to its construction, and, as an auxiliary thereto, promote the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

Resolved, That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national character required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligations of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Resolved, That we invite the affiliation and co-operation of men of all parties, however differing from us in other respects, in support of the principles herein declared, and believing that the spirit of our institutions as well as the Constitution of our country guarantees liberty of conscience and equality of rights among citizens, we oppose all legislation impairing their security.

FREMONT'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Addressed to the Committee of the Convention.

NEW YORK, July 8, 1856.

Gentlemen:— You call me to a high responsibility by placing me in the van of a great movement of the people of the United States, who without regard to past differences, are uniting in a common effort to bring back the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson. Comprehending the magnitude of the trust which they have declared themselves willing to place in my hands, and deeply sensible of the honor which their unreserved confidence, in this threatening position of the public affairs implies, I feel that I cannot better respond than by a sincere declaration that, in the event of my election to the Presidency, I should enter upon the execution of its duties with a single-hearted determination to promote the good of the whole country, and to direct solely to this end all the power of the Government, irrespective of party issues and regardless of sectional strifes. The declaration of principles embodied in the resolves of your Convention expresses the

sentiments in which I have been educated, and which have been ripened into convictions by personal observation and experience. With this declaration and avowal, I think it necessary to revert to only two of the subjects embraced in these resolutions, and to these only because events have surrounded them with grave and critical circumstances, and given to them a especial importance.

I concur in the views of the Convention deprecating the foreign policy to which it adverts. The assumption that we have the right to take from another nation its domains because we want them, is an abandonment of the honest character which our country has acquired. To provoke hostilities by unjust assumption, would be to sacrifice the peace and character of the country, when all its interests might be more certainly secured and its objects attained by just and healing counsels, involving no loss of reputation. International embarrassments are mainly the results of a secret diplomacy, which aims to keep from the knowledge of the people the operations of the Government. This system is inconsistent with the character of our institutions, and is itself yielding gradually to a more enlightened public opinion and to the power of a free press, which, by its broad dissemination of political intelligence, secures in advance to the side of justice the judgment of the civilized world. An honest, firm and open policy in our foreign relations, would command the united support of the nation whose deliberate opinions it would necessarily reflect.

Nothing is clearer in the history of our institutions than the design of the nation, in asserting its own independence and freedom, to avoid giving countenance to the extension of slavery. The influence of the small but compact and powerful class of men interested in slavery, who command one section of the country, and wield a vast political control as a consequence in the other, is now directed to turn back this impulse of the revolution and reverse its principles. The extension of slavery across the continent is the object of the power which now rules the government; and from this spirit has sprung kindred wrongs in Kansas so truly portrayed in one of your resolutions, which prove that the elements of the most arbitrary governments have not been vanquished by the just theory of our own.

It would be out of place here to pledge myself to any particular policy that has been suggested to terminate the sectional controversy engendered by political animosities, operating on a powerful class banded together by a common interest. A practical remedy is the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Free State. The South should, in my judgment, earnestly desire such consummation. It would vindicate its good faith. It would correct the mistake of the repeal; and the North, having practically the benefit of the agreement between the two sections, would be satisfied and good feeling restored. The measure is perfectly consistent with the honor of the South and vital to its interests. That fatal act which gave birth to this purely sectional strife, originated in the scheme to take from Free Labor the country secured to it by a solemn covenant, cannot be too soon disarmed of its pernicious force. The only genial region of the middle latitudes left to the emigrants of the Northern States for homes, can not be conquered from the Free Laborers who have long considered it as set apart for them in our inheritance, without provoking a desperate struggle. Whatever may be the persistence of the particular class which seems ready to hazard everything for the unjust scheme it has partially effected, I firmly believe that the great heart of the nation, which throbs with the patriotism of the freemen of both sections, will have power to overcome it. They will look to the rights secured to them by the Constitution of the Union as the best safeguard from the oppression of the class, which, by a monopoly of the soil, and of slave labor to till it, might in time reduce them to the extremity of laboring upon the same terms with the slaves. The great body of non-slaveholding freemen, including those of the South, upon whose welfare slavery is an oppression, will discover that the power of the General Government over the Public Lands may be beneficially exerted to their interests and secure their independence; knowing this, their suffrages will not be wanting to maintain that authority in the Union which is absolutely essential to the maintenance of their own

liberties, and which has more than indicated the purpose of disposing of the Public Lands in such a way as would make every settler upon them a freeholder.

If the people intrust to me the administration of the Government, the laws of Congress in relation to the Territories shall be faithfully executed. All its authority shall be exerted in aid of the National will to re-establish the peace of the country on the just principles which have heretofore received the sanction of the Federal Government, of the States, and of the people of both sections. Such a policy would leave no aliment to that sectional party which seeks its aggrandizement by appropriating the new Territories to capital in the form of Slavery, but would inevitably result in the triumph of Free Labor—the natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country and creates that intelligent power in the masses alone to be relied on as the bulwark of free institutions.

Trusting that I have a heart capable of comprehending my whole country, with its varied interests, and confident that patriotism exists in all parts of the Union, I accept the nomination of your Convention, in the hope that I may be enabled to serve usefully its cause which I consider the cause of Constitutional Freedom.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

J. C. FREMONT.

MR. FILLMORE DECLARES HIS VIEWS.

At the time of his nomination by the South Americans, Mr. Fillmore was in Europe. After his return, he was welcomed with a public reception at New York, Albany, Rochester, and Buffalo. He made speeches at those receptions, wherein he put forth certain disunion sentiments so obnoxious to all true American patriots, as to astonish his old friends throughout the Union. We copy, and ask a careful perusal of that portion of his speeches which refers to the subject which Mr. Buchanan, upon accepting his nomination, declared to be "the absorbing element in the canvass."

At Albany, Mr. Fillmore said:—"We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency, selected for the first time from the Free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure, can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow, in case of success? (Cheers.) Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? (Cheers.) Would he be required to follow the same rule prescribed by those who elected him, in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be President or Vice President, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter, as one of his Cabinet Council, or to represent the nation in a foreign country? Or, indeed, to collect the revenue, or administer the laws of the U. States? If not, what new rule is the President to adopt in selecting men for office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him? These are serious, but practical questions, and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice President, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North—do you think we would submit to it? No, NOT FOR A MOMENT. (Applause.) And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? (Tremendous cheering.) If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken."

At Rochester, he said:—"The repeal of the Missouri Compromise seems to have been a Pandora's box, out of which have issued all the political evils that now afflict

the country, scarcely leaving a hope behind, and many, I perceive, are ready to attribute all these to our Southern brethren. But is this just? ('No, no.') It must be borne in mind that this measure originated with a Northern Senator, and was sustained and sanctioned by a Northern President. I do not recollect that ever a petition from a Southern State solicited this repeal; and how could Southern members of Congress refuse a boon thus offered by the North to the South? It could only be done by sacrificing themselves upon the altar of their country for their country's good; and this is certainly expecting too much from political men in times like these. The blame, therefore, it appears to me, with all due deference, is chiefly chargeable to those who originated this measure; and however we may deplore the act, it affords no just ground for controversy with our Southern brethren—certainly none by which they should be deprived of their political rights. But, we now see a party organized in the North, and for the first time selecting its candidates for President and Vice President exclusively from the Northern States, with the avowed intention of electing them to govern the South as well as the North. By what rule is a President, thus elected, to select his Cabinet Council, his foreign ministers, judges, and administrative officers? Are they also to be selected exclusively from the North? or may you take a Cabinet officer from the South, though you cannot a President or Vice President? These in practice, as I have said on another occasion, must become embarrassing questions. The North is, beyond all question, the most populous, the most wealthy, and has the most votes, and therefore has the power to inflict this injustice upon the South. But we can best judge of its consequences by reversing the scene. Suppose that the South was the most populous, the most wealthy, and possessed the greatest number of electoral votes, and it should declare that, for some fancied or real injustice done at the North, it would elect none but a President and Vice President of slaveholders from the South to rule over the North, do you think, fellow-citizens, you would submit to this injustice? ('No, no.') No, TRULY YOU WOULD NOT; BUT ONE UNIVERSAL CRY OF 'No' WOULD REND THE SKIES. And can you suppose your Southern brethren less sensitive than yourselves, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken; and that you therefore must perceive that the success of such a party, with such an object, must be the dissolution of this glorious Union."

To show the sad errors of fact into which Mr. Fillmore has fallen, it is only necessary to refer to well known incidents in the history of our country. In 1812, Mr. Clinton, of New York, was nominated in opposition to Mr. Madison, and on the ticket with him for Vice President was Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania.

In 1824, Gen. Jackson and John C. Calhoun, both from slaveholding States, and slaveholders, were on the same ticket, for President and Vice President of the United States. In 1828 they were also on the same ticket, and were elected.

In 1828, John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush were on the same ticket, for President and Vice President of the United States. They were both from the free States.

In 1836, Gen. Harrison and Frank Granger were nominated on the same ticket, for President and Vice President of the United States. They were both from the free States.

For nearly two years past, the President of the United States Senate, who occupies the position of Vice President, and who succeeds to the Presidency in event of the death of the President, has been from the free States. We have thus, ever since Jesse D. Bright, of Indiana, was elected President of the Senate, lived and maintained the Union with a President and Vice President from the free States.

There are probably other instances of the kind in our history, but these are enough to show the absurdity and folly of Mr. Fillmore's proposition. If it is so essential, that the preservation of the Union depends upon it, the Convention that formed our Constitution was guilty of a sad oversight, in making no provision for this division of political power in that instrument. We submit, that the facts here given are suffi-

cient to dispose of the bold and startling disunion speeches of Mr. Fillmore. The American people will never sanction the heresy, that one portion of the Union will be justified in taking steps for its dissolution, because the President and the Vice President both happen to reside in the other. Such heresy was not uttered in 1812, or in 1828, when, and for four years thereafter, the Union existed with both these officers from the slave States.

THE SLAVE CODE OF KANSAS.

We give below one of the acts passed by the Legislature elected by the votes of Missourians to make laws for the Free citizens of Kansas—for refusing to obey which laws, thus imposed on Free men, the citizens of Kansas (not willing yet to acknowledge themselves “subdued”) are declared outlaws, guilty of “treason,” and are hunted out of the Territory by a posse assembled under the authority of the President of the United States—many are murdered; the persons of others, both male and female, outraged; their dwellings burned, their property robbed and destroyed, and the country made desolate.

After perusing the following enactment, how many men, worthy of the name of “Democrat,” will continue to support the ticket of the Slave Aristocracy!

TERRITORY OF KANSAS.

An Act to Punish Offences Against Slave Property.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, That every person, *BOND OR FREE*, who shall be convicted of actually raising a rebellion or insurrection of *SLAVES*, free negroes or mulattoes in this Territory, *SHALL SUFFER DEATH*.

SECT. 2. Every free person who shall aid and assist in any rebellion or insurrection of *SLAVES*, free negroes or mulattoes, or shall furnish arms, or do any overt act in furtherance of such rebellion or insurrection, *SHALL SUFFER DEATH*.

SECT. 3. If any free person shall, by *SPEAKING, WRITING, or PRINTING*, advise, persuade or induce any *SLAVES* to rebel or conspire against any citizen of this Territory, or shall bring into, print, write, publish or circulate, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in the bringing into, printing, writing, publishing or circulating in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet or circular, for the purpose of exciting insurrection on the part of the *SLAVES*, free negroes or mulattoes, against the citizens of the Territory, or any part of them, such person *SHALL BE GUILTY OF FELONY AND SUFFER DEATH*.

SECT. 4. If any person shall entice, decoy or carry away out of this Territory, any *SLAVES* belonging to another, with the intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, or with the intent to effect or procure the freedom of such slave, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, *SHALL SUFFER DEATH, OR BE IMPRISONED AT HARD LABOR FOR NOT LESS THAN TEN YEARS*.

SECT. 5. If any person aids or assists in enticing, decoying, or persuading, or carrying away or sending out of the Territory, any *SLAVE* belonging to another, *WITH INTENT TO PROCURE OR EFFECT THE FREEDOM OF SUCH SLAVE*, or with intent to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, he

shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, and, on conviction thereof, *SHALL SUFFER DEATH, OR BE IMPRISONED AT HARD LABOR FOR NOT LESS THAN TEN YEARS.*

SECT. 6. If any person shall entice, decoy, or carry away out of any other State or Territory of the United States, any slave belonging to another, *WITH INTENT TO PROCURE OR EFFECT THE FREEDOM OF SUCH SLAVE*, or to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such SLAVE, into this Territory, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, in the same manner as if such slave had been enticed, decoyed or carried away out of the Territory, and in such case, the larceny may be charged to have been committed in any county of this Territory, into or through which such slave shall have been brought by such person, and, on conviction thereof, the person offending *SHALL SUFFER DEATH, OR BE IMPRISONED AT HARD LABOR FOR NOT LESS THAN TEN YEARS.*

SECT. 7. If any person shall entice, persuade or induce any SLAVE to escape from the service of his master or owner in this Territory, or shall aid or assist any SLAVE escaping from the service of his master or owner, or shall assist, harbor or conceal any SLAVE who may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, he shall be deemed guilty of felony, *AND PUNISHED BY IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR FOR NOT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS.*

SECT. 8. If any person in this Territory shall aid or assist, harbor or conceal any SLAVE who has escaped from the service of his master or owner in another State or Territory, such person shall be punished in like manner as if such slave had escaped from the service of his master or owner in this Territory.

SECT. 9. If any person shall resist any officer while attempting to arrest any SLAVE that may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, or shall rescue such SLAVES when in custody of any officer or other person, or shall entice, persuade, aid or assist such SLAVE, to escape from the custody of any officer or other person who may have such SLAVE in custody, whether such SLAVE has escaped from the service of his master or owner in this Territory or in any other State or Territory, the person so offending *SHALL BE GUILTY OF FELONY, AND PUNISHED BY IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR FOR A TERM NOT LESS THAN TWO YEARS.*

SECT. 10. If any Marshal, Sheriff, or Constable, or the Deputy of any such officer, shall, when required by any person, refuse to aid or assist in the *arrest or capture of any slave* that may have escaped from the service of his master or owner, whether such SLAVE shall have escaped from his master or owner in this Territory or any other State or Territory, such officer shall be fined in a sum of not less than one hundred nor more than five hundred dollars.

SECT. 11. If any person *print, write, introduce into, publish or circulate*, or cause to be brought into, *printed, written, published or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing or circulating*, within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill, or circular, containing any STATEMENT, ARGUMENT, OPINION, SENTIMENT, DOCTRINE, ADVICE OR INCENDO, *calculated to produce a DISAFFECTION among the SLAVES in this Territory, or to induce such SLAVES to escape from the service of their masters, or resist their authority*, HE SHALL BE GUILTY OF FELONY, AND BE PUNISHED BY IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR FOR A TERM NOT LESS THAN FIVE YEARS.

SECT. 12. *IF ANY FREE PERSON, BY SPEAKING OR WRITING, ASSERT OR MAINTAIN THAT PERSONS HAVE NOT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY*, or shall introduce into this Territory, *PRINT, PUBLISH, WRITE, CIRCULATE, OR CAUSE TO BE WRITTEN, PRINTED, PUBLISHED OR CIRCULATED IN THIS TERRITORY*, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular *CONTAINING ANY DENIAL OF THE RIGHT OF SUCH PERSONS TO HOLD SLAVES IN*

THIS TERRITORY, such person shall be deemed *GUILTY OF FELONY, AND PUNISHED BY IMPRISONMENT AT HARD LABOR FOR A TERM NOT LESS THAN TWO YEARS.*

SECT. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to holding SLAVES, OR WHO DOES NOT ADMIT THE RIGHT TO HOLD SLAVES IN THIS TERRITORY, SHALL SIT AS A JUROR on the trial of any prosecution for the violation of any of the sections of this act.

This act to take effect and be in force from and after the 15th day of September, A. D. 1856.

Signed, J. H. Srringfellow, Speaker of the House; Attest, J. M. Lyle, Clerk, Thomas Johnson, President of the Council; Attest, J. A. Halderman, Clerk.

BUCHANAN DECLARES SLAVERY THE GREAT ISSUE AND DESIRES CUBA.

The Hon. Albert G. Brown, United States Senator from Mississippi, was one of the committee chosen by the Cincinnati Convention, to wait on Mr. Buchanan, and apprise him of his nomination. Having done so, he reports progress in the following letter :

WASHINGTON CITY, Wednesday, June 18, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on the nomination of your favorite candidate for the Presidency.

If the nomination of Mr. Buchanan was acceptable to me at first, it is still more so now, since I have seen him and heard him speak. The Committee, of which I was one, waited on him at his residence to give him formal and official notice of his nomination, and in the name of the National Democracy to request his acceptance of it. We found him open, frank and wholly undisguised in the expression of his sentiments. Mr. Buchanan said, in the presence of all who had assembled—and they were from the North and the South, the East and the West—that *he stood upon the Cincinnati Platform and indorsed every part of it. He was explicit in his remarks on its Slavery features, saying that the Slavery issue was the absorbing element in the canvass.* He recognized to its fullest extent the overshadowing importance of *that issue*, and if elected, he would make it *the great aim of his Administration* to settle the question upon such terms as should give peace and safety to the Union, and security to the South. *He spoke in terms of decided commendation of the Kansas Bill*, and as pointedly deprecated the unworthy efforts of sectional agitation to get up a national conflagration on that question. After the passage of the Compromise measures of 1850, the Kansas bill was, he said, necessary to harmonize our legislation in reference to the territories and he expressed his *surprise* that there should appear any where an organized opposition to the Kansas bill, after the general acquiescence which the whole country had expressed in the measures of 1850.

After thus speaking of Kansas and the slavery issues, Mr. Buchanan passed to our foreign policy. *He approved in general terms of the Cincinnati resolutions on this subject.* But said that, while enforcing our own policy, we must at all times scrupulously regard the just rights and proper policy of other nations. He was not opposed to territorial extension. All our acquisitions had been fairly and honorably made. *Our necessities might require us to make other acquisitions.* *He regarded the acquisition of Cuba as very desirable now, and it was likely to become a national necessity.* Whenever we could obtain the Island on fair, honorable terms, he was for taking it. But, he added, it will be a terrible necessity that would induce me to sanction

any movement that would bring reproach upon us, or tarnish the honor and glory of our beloved country.

After the formal interview was over, Mr. Buchanan said playfully, but in the presence of the whole audience, "*if I can be instrumental in settling the slavery question upon the terms I have named, and then add Cuba, to the Union, I shall, if President, be willing to give up the ghost and let Breckenridge take the government. Could there be a more noble ambition?*" You may well be proud of your early choice of a candidate, and congratulate yourself that no adverse influences ever moved you an inch from your stern purpose of giving the great Pennsylvanian a steady, earnest and cordial support. In my judgment *he is as worthy of Southern confidence and Southern votes as Mr. Calhoun ever was*; and in saying this I do not mean to intimate that Mr. Buchanan has any sectional prejudices in our favor. I only mean to say that he has none against us, and that we may rely with absolute certainty on receiving full justice, according to the Constitution, at his hands.

Knowing your long, laborious and faithful adherence to the fortunes of Mr. Buchanan, I have thought it proper to address you this letter, to give you assurance that you had not mistaken your man, nor failed in the performance of a sacred and filial duty to the South. In doing so I violate no confidence.

Very truly your friend,

To the Hon. S. R. ADAMS.

A. G. BROWN.

THE TRUE ISSUE—WHAT NORTHERN DOUGH-FACES MUST DO AND SAY.

From the Richmond Va., Inquirer, Buchanan.

The Democrats of the South in the present canvass cannot rely on the old grounds of defence and excuse for slavery; *for they seek not merely to retain it where it is, but to extend it into regions where it is unknown. Much less can they rely on the mere constitutional guarantees of slavery*, for such reliance is pregnant with the admission that slavery is wrong, and but for the constitution should be abolished. This constitutional argument for slavery, standing alone, fully justifies the abolitionists. They are clearly right if slavery be morally wrong, for to get rid of it under the constitution, or by amending the constitution, is confessedly impracticable.

In truth, the constitution cannot help slavery, if it be a violation of the laws of God and of morality. In that case the constitution should be changed, or the free States should secede, rather than continue to guaranty what they consider immoral or profane. The constitution cannot help slavery for another reason. That institution, extending through fifteen States, and interramified with the interests, the feelings, and the very existence of many millions of men, is much stronger than the constitution. It would be far easier to change or violate the constitution than to abolish slavery. Besides, slavery is older than the constitution, existed before it, and independently of it. We derive no right to our slaves from it, and weaken our cause by seeming to rely on it.

Nor will it avail us aught to show that the negro is most happy and best situated in the condition of slavery. If we stop there, we weaken our cause by the very argument intended to advance it; for we propose to introduce into new territory human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal association with other men. We must go a step farther. We must show that African slavery is a moral, religious, natural, and probably, in the general, a necessary institution of society. This is the only line of argument that will enable Southern Democrats to maintain the doctrines of state equality and slavery extension.

For if slavery be not a legitimate, useful, moral, and expedient institution, we can-

not, without reproof of conscience and the blush of shame, seek to extend it, or assert our equality with those States having no such institution.

Northern Democrats need not go thus far. They do not seek to extend slavery, but only agree to its extension, as a matter of right on our part. They may prefer their own social system to ours. It is best they should. Our friends are conservatives at home, and conservatives of the Union — conservative of religion, of marriage, of property, of State institutions, and of federal institutions. But whilst they may prefer their own social system, they will have to admit in this canvass, that ours is also rightful and legitimate, and sanctioned alike by the opinions and usages of mankind, and by the authority and express injunctions of Scripture. They cannot consistently maintain that Slavery is immoral, inexpedient and profane, and yet continue to submit to its extension.

We know we utter bold truths. But the time has now arrived when their utterance can be no longer postponed. The true issue should stand out so boldly and clearly that none may mistake it.

WHEREIN BUCHANAN DENOUNCES SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY, AND "CLINGS" TO THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

Let the people carefully read the following letter, and compare its statements with those of the Slave Democracy of the present day. It is rich.

WASHINGTON, August 21, 1848.

DEAR SIR: I have just received yours of the 12th inst., in which you submit to me the following paragraph, and ask whether it contains an accurate version of the conversation between us concerning my Berks county letter, on the occasion to which you refer:

"Happening to meet Mr. Buchanan at the President's levee on Friday evening, I called his attention to this letter, and asked him if he intended to be understood as claiming that the population of a Territory, in an unorganized capacity, had the right to control the question of slavery in such Territory. He declared no such idea had ever been maintained by him; that the construction put upon his language by Mr. Yancey was a perversion of its plain and obvious meaning; that in his opinion the inhabitants of a Territory, as such, had no political rights, [although they possessed all the private rights of American citizens;] that they had no power whatever over the subject of slavery, and they could neither interdict or establish it, except when assembled in Convention to form a State Constitution. He further authorized and requested me to make any public use of these declarations that I might think proper, to correct any impression which Mr. Yancey's construction of his language in the Berks letter might have made."

With the addition which I have made between brackets, this statement is substantially, and almost literally correct, according to my recollection.

In my letter to Berks county, of 25th August, 1847, I had said: "Under the Missouri Compromise, slavery was forever prohibited north of the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and south of this parallel the question was left to be decided by the people." What people? Undoubtedly the people of the Territory, assembled in convention to form a State Constitution, and ask admission into the Union, *and not the first adventurers, or "first comers,"* who might happen to arrive in the Territory, assembled in public meeting. If a doubt on this subject could possibly exist, it is removed by the next succeeding sentence of my letter.

I proceeded to state: "Congress, on the admission of Texas, adopted the same rule," &c. And what was this rule? "The joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States," approved March 1, 1845, answers the question in the following

words: "And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36 degrees 30 minutes, north latitude, commonly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without slavery, *as the people of each State asking admission may desire.*" Such was the description of the people to whom I referred in my Berks Co. letter.

Any other construction of the letter would render it essentially inconsistent with itself. Having urged the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, the inference was irresistible that Congress, in my opinion, possessed the power to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. What an absurdity it would then be if, while asserting this SOVEREIGN POWER IN CONGRESS, *which power from its nature must be EXCLUSIVE*, I should, in the very same breath, also claim this identical power "for the population of a Territory in an unorganized capacity."

In conclusion, I desire to reiterate and reaffirm every sentiment contained in my Berks county letter. I cling to the Missouri Compromise with greater tenacity than ever, and yet firmly believe that it will be adopted by Congress.

Yours, very respectfully,

JAMES BUCHANAN.

T. SANDFORD, Esq.

IS COL. FREMONT A CATHOLIC? NO!

Strange as it may appear, there are persons who have been imposed upon by lying reports, and base falsehoods, and who appear to believe that Col. Fremont, the Republican candidate for President, is a *Roman Catholic*! For a time his friends thought this story was so absurd and ridiculous that it required no attention, but it has been persisted in with so much pertinacity by designing demagogues, for the miserable purpose of making a little party capital, that it becomes necessary to meet the lie, and nail it to the counter in such a way that no man, who is not culpably blind, need be mistaken. We ask a careful perusal of the following documents, from the very highest sources. And first, we give the letter of his old school companion, J. G. NELSON. He is a Democrat, but has too much integrity to permit this vile falsehood to go uncontradicted:

NEW YORK, July 21, 1856.

To the Editor of the New York Daily Times:

In the Morning *Express* of Saturday, Mr. Brooks asserts that Col. Fremont received his early education at a Catholic Institute in Charleston, S. C., under the late Bishop England. Although opposed to the party that nominated him, in justice to himself, and the memory of his mother, I brand those assertions as utterly false from beginning to end.

Born in Charleston, I have known him from my earliest days. He was my school-mate for many years. I was a member of the same Sunday School class with him, and while he was a member of the Junior class, Charleston College, he was my most intimate friend. I was standing within a few feet of him when he was confirmed, in the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the Bishop of South Carolina. I can vouch that he never had his foot inside of the Catholic Institute spoken of, and I am sure he never spoke to Bishop England in his life. He was born a Protestant, educated a Protestant, and has more of a Protestant principle about him than the editor of the *Express*, or the candidate of the proscription party he represents.

Respectfully yours,

J. G. NELSON.

Letter from Lieut. Gov. Raymond, of New York, to E. D. Mansfield, of Cincinnati.

NEW YORK, July 29, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 1st inst. ought to have been answered long ago, but absence and business must plead my excuse. I am not surprised to hear that the rumors so widely circulated, concerning Col. Fremont's religion, should have the effect of causing some, who sympathise thoroughly with his sentiments in regard to the extension of slavery, to hesitate about pledging themselves to his support. But, so far as these rumors assert, or imply that he is a Roman Catholic, they are without the slightest foundation in truth.

I presume that, from proper motives of delicacy and self-respect, Col. Fremont will not publish anything himself on the subject, or take any part personally in the canvass. But he converses with the utmost freedom upon these topics, as upon all others; he has no desire or disposition to practice any concealment of his religious opinions, and I have no reason to suppose that he would desire others to do so on his behalf.

Col. Fremont is not now, nor has he ever been a Roman Catholic. His father dying when he was five years old, he was educated exclusively in Protestant schools, and at the age of sixteen, was confirmed of his own notion and sincere conviction in the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which he has continued ever since to be a member. Not one of his own children has ever been sent to a Roman Catholic school, though I believe an adopted daughter attended for a short time the seminary at Georgetown, of which the pupils are generally largely Protestant. That this ought not to be construed to his prejudice, even by the most zealous Protestants, is sufficiently shown by the fact that Mr. Fillmore sent his own daughter to a Catholic seminary at Buffalo, for the purpose of special instruction—yet no one ever inferred from this circumstance that he himself was not a Protestant.

Col. Fremont's marriage was celebrated by a Roman Catholic priest, but this was in consequence of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of procuring any other clergyman to perform it. The ceremony was in a private room, was very short and simple, and did not imply any assent on his part, or that of his wife, to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church; nor was either of them required, or requested on that occasion, to give any pledge that their children should be brought up in that faith. They have all been baptised and educated in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The statements which Ald. Fulmer, of this city, is said to have authorized, to the effect that, in March, 1852, he saw Col. Fremont joining in the religious services of a Roman Catholic Church at Washington, and that in a subsequent conversation with him at dinner, at Brown's Hotel, Col. Fremont declared himself a Catholic, and a believer in the peculiar doctrines of that church, are entirely untrue.

Col. Fremont was not in the city of Washington at all during the year 1852. He left New York for California in March, 1850. He returned in the steamer *George Law*, which reached New York on the 6th of March, 1852, and remaining in that city four days, he left on the 10th in the steamer *Africa* for Europe, and did not return till June, 1853. I understand that Alderman Fulmer exhibits a receipt from Brown's Hotel, dated March 7, 1852, for four days' board. This makes it certain that the Alderman's stay there terminated on the 7th, and the conversation must have taken place previous to that date. But, as Col. Fremont did not reach New York till the 6th, it is impossible that he should have been connected with them—especially as he remained in New York, and did not visit Washington at all. He has no recollection of ever having dined at Brown's Hotel, until this last winter, since 1841, nor of ever having seen Alderman Fulmer there or elsewhere.

The Alderman, I am informed, is a man who would not be likely to make such statements unless he believed them to be true. But it is very certain that he has fallen into a very gross error somehow, probably by mistaking some other person,

with whom he may have held the conversation in question, for Col. Fremont. He owes it to his own character, as well as to justice, to take steps to confirm, or correct the accuracy of his recollection in this matter.

You may rely upon the entire authenticity of the statements I have thus made, in reply to your inquiry of the "facts." In the present state of the public mind, and in view of the earnest and persevering misrepresentations of the truth, you may think it desirable that they should be generally known. If so, you are quite at liberty to make them public, and to add that they are given as the result of conversation with Col. Fremont himself.

I am very truly yours,

HENRY J. RAYMOND.

PROOF CONCLUSIVE.

In addition to the above statements, which are enough of themselves to satisfy every honest mind, we append the certificate of the Rev. J. W. French. We think it closes the case.

WASHINGTON CITY, July 12, 1856.

The following children of J. Charles and Jessie Benton Fremont have been baptised in the Church of the Parish of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C., their baptisms being recorded in the register of said parish:

1848, August 15th, Elizabeth McDowell Benton Fremont.

1848, August 15th, Benton Fremont.

1853, December 28th, John Charles Fremont.

1855, August 1st, Francis Preston Fremont.

As none were baptised in a house, *but all were brought to a church*, the order of a Protestant Episcopal Church, for the "Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants," was that which was used.

J. W. FRENCH,

Rector of the Parish of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C.

BORDER RUFFIAN APPEALS.—NORTHERN FREE-MEN, READ!

Driven to desperation by the thieving, plundering, and murdering gang of desperadoes that have been gathered in Kansas from South Carolina, and other Slave States, who are collected in squads, and live by robbing free State men on the public highways, stealing their horses and other property, and committing all sorts of violence and outrages upon them, the people of the territory have determined to take steps to abate the evil. Assembling in force, they received a message from a gang near Ossawatamie that they were peaceable settlers, and invited the free State men to send a deputy to their camp that they might convince them of its truth. The free State men sent one of their most reliable citizens, Mr. Hoyt, to their camp. When he arrived he was seized, dragged from his horse, shot through the body with six balls, and left dead in the road. Such infamy aroused the people, and they determined to drive the band of robbers and murderers from the territory. They attacked them—drove them to Missouri, and thus abated a nuisance that no freeman could endure.

This has created a terrible excitement among the border ruffians, and they are howling for blood. Numerous calls for help to the people of Missouri have been issued by Atchison, Stringfellow, and other leaders in this hellish plot. We copy a part of one of these calls, that our people may see the spirit which actuates the slave power.

"Now is the time for ACTION. We must have men to go to the Territory immediately, *or all will be lost*. The intention of the Abolitionists is to drive us from the Territory and carry the next election, and get possession of the reins of Government. This we must not submit to. If we do, Kansas is lost to the South forever—and our slaves in Upper Missouri will be useless to us—and our homes must be given up to the Abolition enemy.

Come then, to the rescue. Up, men of Lafayette!

Meet at Lexington, on WEDNESDAY, at 12 o'clock, August 20th. BRING YOUR HORSES WITH YOU, YOUR GUNS AND YOUR CLOTHING—all ready to go on to Kansas. Let every man who can possibly leave home, go now to save the lives of our friends. Let those who cannot go, hitch up their wagons, and throw in a few provisions, and get more as they come along by their neighbors, and bring it to Lexington, on Wednesday. Let others bring horses and mules, and saddles and guns—all to come in on Wednesday. We must go *immediately*; there is no time to spare, *and no one must hold back*. Let all do a little, and the job will be light. We want two or three hundred men from this county. Jackson, Johnson, Platte, Clay, Ray, Saline, Carroll and other counties, are now acting in this matter. All of them will send up a company of men, and there will be a concert of action. NEW SANTA FE, Jackson county, will be the place of rendezvous for the whole crowd, and our motto this time will be "no quarter." Come up, then, on Wednesday, and let us have concert of action. Let no one stay away; we *need the old men to advise*, the young men to *execute*. We confidently look for eight hundred to a thousand citizens to be present.

This is the decisive moment; if we fail to act now, it will be useless to do so after the Abolitionists have full possession of the country. For your own sakes—for the sake of your lives, your children, your firesides, your homes—come up, and let us act in this matter decidedly, and put an end to Abolitionism in Kansas. Their motto is: "No quarter to pro-slavery men."

Capt. Bledsoe's Company are notified to meet in Lexington, on Wednesday, August 20th.

S. L. SAWYER,
STREET HALE,
G. W. BAKER,
T. M. YOUNG,
W. K. TRIGG,
H. M. BLEDSOE, Jr.,

EDWARD WINSOR,
W. P. WALTON,
MARTIN SLAUGHTER,
WM. LIMRICK,
NATHAN CORDER,
OLIVER ANDERSON.

BUCHANAN & PIERCE IDENTICAL IN PRINCIPLE.

"Resolved, That the administration of FRANKLIN PIERCE has been true to the Democratic principles; * * * We proclaim our *unqualified admiration* of HIS MEASURES AND POLICY."—*Resolution of the National Democratic Convention.*

"I congratulate you that your choice has fallen on a man who stands on the IDENTICAL PLATFORM THAT I OCCUPY, and that he will take the SAME, with the standard lowered never an inch."—*Franklin Pierce's Ratification Speech at Washington.*

"Buchanan and myself have, for several years back, ever since I came into public life, HELD THE SAME POSITION on the Slavery question, from beginning to end."—*Senator Douglas' Speech at the New York Ratification Meeting.*

"The fact is, both PLATFORM and CANDIDATE are *perfectly satisfactory* to the most scrupulous stickler for Southern Rights."—*Richmond Enquirer*

"I have been placed on a Platform which I most heartily approve, *and that can*

speaking for me. Being the representative of the great Democratic party, and not simply JAMES BUCHANAN. *I must square my conduct according to THAT PLATFORM,* and insert no new plank, nor take one from it.”—*James Buchanan’s speech before the Keystone Club.*

OUR BANNER.

“I am opposed to slavery in the abstract, and upon principles sustained and made habitual by long settled convictions. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of State sovereignty, I am as inflexibly opposed to its extension on this continent beyond its present limits.”—*John C. Fremont.*

✍ “I never owned one dollar in human flesh, and while reason holds its sway in my brain, I never will. * * I love my wife with the most ardent affection, but that wife must toil with her own hands, rather than own the first dollar in human flesh.”—*J. C. Fremont.*

✍ Free Labor—The natural capital which constitutes the real wealth of this great country, and creates that intelligent power in the masses, alone to be relied on as the bulwark of Free Institutions.—*John C. Fremont’s Letter of Acceptance.*

“If I am elected to the high office for which your partiality has nominated me, I will endeavor to administer the Government *according to the true spirit of the Constitution, as it was interpreted by the great men who framed and adopted it,* and in such a way as to preserve BOTH LIBERTY AND THE UNION.”—*John C. Fremont’s Letter of Acceptance.*

JACKSON AND CLAY UPON BUCHANAN.

That the people of Ohio may fully understand what two of our eminent public men thought of Mr. Buchanan, we append the written opinions of Mr. Clay and Gen. Jackson. The authenticity of these statements has never been denied, and may be relied upon as substantially correct:

MR. CLAY’S STATEMENT.

Some time in January, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, and not long before the election of President of the United States by the House of Representatives, the Hon. James Buchanan, then a member of the House, and afterwards many years a Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania, who had been a zealous and influential supporter of General Jackson in the preceding canvass, and was supposed to enjoy his unbounded confidence, called at the lodgings of Mr. Clay, in the city of Washington. Mr. Clay was at the time in the room of his only messmate in the House. (his intimate and confidential friend, the Hon. R. P. Letcher, since Governor of Kentucky, then also a member of the House.) Shortly after Mr. Buchanan’s entry into the room, he introduced the subject of the approaching Presidential election, and spoke of the certainty of the election of his favorite—adding, that he would form the most splendid Cabinet that the country had ever had. Mr. Letcher asked how he could have had one more distinguished than that of Mr. Jefferson, in which were both Madison and Gallatin? Where would he be able to find equally eminent men? Mr. Buchanan replied: “He would not go out of this room for a Secretary of State, looking at Mr. Clay. This gentleman, (Mr. Clay) playfully remarked that he thought there was no timber there fit for a Cabinet officer, unless it were Mr. Buchanan himself.

GEN. JACKSON'S STATEMENT.

HERMITAGE, Feb. 28, 1845.

Your observations with regard to Mr. Buchanan are correct. HE SHOWED A WANT OF MORAL COURAGE IN THE AFFAIR OF THE INTRIGUE BETWEEN ADAMS AND CLAY, did not do me the justice in the expose he then made, and, I AM SURE, ABOUT THAT TIME DID BELIEVE THERE WAS A PERFECT UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ADAMS AND CLAY about the Presidency and the Secretary of State. THIS I AM SURE OF. But whether he viewed that there was any corruption in the case or not, I know not; but one thing I do know, THAT HE WISHED ME TO COMBAT THEM WITH THEIR OWN WEAPONS; THAT WAS, TO LET MY FRIENDS SAY, IF I WAS ELECTED, I WOULD MAKE CLAY SECRETARY OF STATE. THIS, TO ME, APPEARED TO BE GROSS CORRUPTION, AND I REPELLED IT WITH THAT HONEST INDIGNATION AS I THOUGHT IT DESERVED.

ANDREW JACKSON.

BUCHANAN NORTH, AND BUCHANAN SOUTH.

The Southern face of the Cincinnati nominee is presented by his Southern organ; and here it is, as painted by the Vicksburg *Sentinel*. It says:

"We dare and defy any one to point to a single vote that Mr. Buchanan ever gave, during his Congressional career, involving the question of slavery, that was not on the side of the South, and opposed to the Abolitionists."

The Providence (Rhode Island) *Post*, as zealous a Buchanan organ as the Richmond *Enquirer*, introduces him to a New England public thus:

"Mr. Buchanan never uttered a sentence in defense of slavery, or whispered a word in favor of its existence, or cast a vote which any honest man could construe into a wish to support the institution!"

POWER OF CONGRESS TO LEGISLATE UPON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

In the present stage of the contest with the aggressions of the Slave power, it is well to go back, and see upon what principles our Fathers administered this government. We say without fear of successful contradiction, that the right of Congress to restrict and prohibit Slavery in the Territories has been exercised from the organization of the Union under the Constitution, down to 1848. Let us look at the FACTS.

ACTS IN WHICH SLAVERY WAS PROHIBITED.

- Aug. 7, 1798. The first Congress under the Constitution applied the Ordinance of 1787 to *all the territory of the United States*. See 1st Vol. U. S. Statutes, 50th page. This law was signed by GEORGE WASHINGTON.
- May 7, 1800. Congress organized the Ohio Territory, and applied the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery therein. See 2d Vol. U. S. Laws, page 59. This law was signed by JOHN ADAMS.
- March 26, 1804. Congress organized the Louisiana Territory, and prohibited the importation of slaves into the territory *except by actual settlers, &c.* This

is a full recognition of the *right* to prohibit all slavery. See 2d Vol. U. S. Laws, page 286. This law was signed by THOMAS JEFFERSON.

August 14, 1848. Congress organized the Territory of Oregon, and, by express terms, prohibited slavery therein. See Vol. 9 of U. S. Laws, page 32. This law was signed by JAMES K. POLK.

In this connection it is proper to remember that, in 1820, when the Missouri Compromise was adopted, Mr. Monroe required the *written* opinion of all his cabinet ministers upon the question of its constitutionality, and they ALL pronounced it constitutional. Among the members of this cabinet were Messrs. Crawford of Georgia, Wirt of Maryland, and Calhoun of South Carolina. Such was the well recognized right of our Government in 1820.

ACTS OF CONGRESS RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT TO LEGISLATE FOR THE TERRITORIES.

March 2, 1819. Congress passed a law for the organization, &c., of Missouri Territory. By it the President was to appoint the Governor, and the Governor was to *approve* of all the acts of the Territorial Legislature before they could become laws. See 2d Vol. U. S. Laws, page 743. This bill was signed by JAMES MONROE.

March 2, 1819. The same statement is true of the law organizing the Territory of Arkansas. 3d Vol. U. S. Laws, page 494, sec. 6.

March 3, 1817. Congress passed a law organizing the Territory of Alabama, in which the conditions of the Ordinance of 1787, except as to slavery, were incorporated. This act was signed by JAMES MADISON.

April 17, 1798. The same statement is true of the act to organize the Mississippi Territory. See Vol. 1 U. S. Laws, page 550.

TERRITORIES IN WHICH THEIR LEGISLATION WAS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS FOR APPROVAL BEFORE IT COULD BECOME A LAW.

June 12, 1838. The law organizing Iowa Territory. See 5th Vol. of U. S. Laws, page 237, sec. 6. This law was signed by MARTIN VAN BUREN.

May 29, 1848. The same of Wisconsin. Vol. 5 U. S. Laws, page 12, sec. 6.

March 3, 1849. The same of Minnesota. Vol. 9 U. S. Laws, page 405, sec. 6. In both these Territories slavery was expressly prohibited. Both of these acts were signed by JAMES K. POLK.

Sept. 9, 1850. The same, (except slavery prohibition,) in law for organization of Utah. Vol. 9 U. S. Laws, page 455, sec. 6. This bill was signed by MILLARD FILLMORE.

DECISIONS OF OUR COURTS AFFIRMING THE AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS TO •LEGISLATE FOR TERRITORIES.

We refer to *American Insurance Co. vs. Carter et al.*, 1st Peters' Rep. page 542. The Chief Justice, MARSHALL, here declares this power to be "unquestionable."

In *Strader vs. Graham*, 10 Howard's Rep. page 82, the Supreme Court expressly recognize the validity of the act of Congress of August 7, 1789, which applied the Ordinance of 1787 to the Territories. We have not room for the quotation, but it covers the entire ground in favor of this power in the Government. Such are the uniform decisions of our courts. Let them be remembered.